

Daley Favorite Survives Panther Furor

By William Chapman
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CHICAGO, April 30—It was election night in Chicago and Mayor Richard J. Daley, his mandate assured by an overwhelming majority of votes, was beaming with delight from a stage in the Sherman House ballroom.

Around him were his victorious running mates and their families and below were their faithful party workers. Suddenly, Daley beckoned to a man in the audience, inviting him to join the charmed circle on the stage to share in the accolades. That gesture last April 6 was one more step up the ladder — perhaps the most important step of all — for Edward V. Hanrahan. In a strictly political context which all present recognized, it was a sign of abjection. Hanrahan, if anyone had doubted it, was welcome in the fold.

"It was," says a knowledgeable anti-machine Democrat, "a little like the old days when the world used to wonder who would stand at Stalin's right hand."

Eighteen months ago, that quick gesture of confidence in Edward Hanrahan would have seemed absurdly, unnecessary. On any chart of the Daley organization, he was near the top. His credentials were exemplary; Irish Catholic, a dutiful precinct captain, a bright attorney, a hard-driving state's attorney, a recognized Daley protege, quite probably the Machine's choice for governor in 1972.

But in the early morning hours of Dec. 4, 1969, the political world of Hanrahan had flipped upside down. A special police detachment assigned to his office raided a West Side apartment and, after bursts of gunfire, departed leaving two members of the Black Panther Party dead. Three official investigations followed, none of them specifically incriminating Hanrahan's police, but each leaving smudges of unanswered questions. A federal grand jury found the Panthers had fired only one shot; the police had fired at least 99.

See HANRAHAN, A7, Col. 1



EDWARD U. HANRAHAN
Stepping up the Daley ladder.

Almost overnight, Hanrahan's reputation and political future were on the line. He defended unflinchingly the police who made the raid, thus offending a large segment of the Black community which never before had cared much for Black Panthers but which nevertheless did not like fatal pre-dawn raids in Black neighborhoods. He alienated the press by leaking inaccurate information to support his men.

Possibly most important, he irritated the powerful Chicago Bar Association with his bursts of pre-trial publicity. Within a matter of days, Chicago's informed politicians were sadly shaking their heads and speculating that Hanrahan, if the furor ever subsided, would be farmed out to a judgeship for all the embarrassment he had caused.

Hanrahan Rallies

But last week, Hanrahan, with the full force of Daley's organization behind him, once again was rallying. He unexpectedly appeared voluntarily before a special county grand jury which, according to reliable reports, already had voted to indict him for obstructing justice during investigations of the Panther raid. From

the bench, a Daley organization judge intervened to levy a \$50 an hour fine on the special prosecutor, Barnabas F. Sears. One of Daley's favorite police lieutenants was dispatched to tape-record the prosecutor's off-the-cuff remarks, presumably to catch any prejudicial comments that might assist in the maneuvers to disband the grand jury and avert indictments.

For Chicago's knowledgeable Democrats, the motive behind these protective reactions were clear: Hanrahan, once again, was Daley's man and, under the code of tribal loyalty which governs the mayor's regime, he had to be protected.

There are good reasons for Daley's devotion, because Hanrahan always has been a man who reciprocated. He is known as a man who, very early, set his sights on public service in the Democratic organization and on the remunerations it could bestow.

Cook County Circuit Court Judge James C. Mur-

ray, formerly Hanrahan's top assistant in the state's attorney's office, last week recalled a revealing incident from the early days. Hanrahan had worked his way through Notre Dame and then had gone on to Harvard Law School on the GI Bill. Coming back to Chicago, he could have entered any of several top law firms and looked forward to a lucrative private career.

Instead, Hanrahan went to the city corporation counsel's office, the traditional training camp for promising organization lawyers. They did not have an attorney's job for him, Harvard notwithstanding, but Hanrahan signed on anyway in the lowly role of investigator.

"Even then," Murray recalled, "Eddie was the first man in the office in the morning and the last out at night."

He followed the same pattern in all the other upward movements into city ordinance enforcement, the Illinois attorney general's office, the U.S. attorney's office for the Northern District and, finally, into the office of state's attorney, one of the organization's most

prestigious and patronage-laden positions.

Law Enforcer

Hanrahan became known as a stickler for enforcing those laws he thought most important. As U.S. attorney and friend of Robert F. Kennedy, he went after some top mobsters and succeeded in jailing several, including Sam Giancana.

Along the way, he picked up a reputation as an inflexible, zealous prosecutor who divided the world into good guys and bad guys.

"In many ways," says one Democrat who once worked with Hanrahan and who has come to dislike him, "He's a man of great personal integrity. Eddie does what Eddie thinks is right. But he's inflexible, humorless, intense, and always defensive."

Hanrahan's flaring Irish temper is already legendary. He despises the press and has been known to call newspaper publishers at midnight to complain of an early-edition story he considered unfair.

Shortly after the Panther raid, which attracted national attention, he granted an interview to an out-of-town reporter. It was a time

when two local cartoonists, Mauldin and Fischetti, were ridiculing his explanations of the raiders' behavior.

"Has your paper ever printed a cartoon by Mauldin?" Hanrahan bellowed at the visiting reporter. "Has your paper ever printed a cartoon by Fischetti?"

His friends and enemies trace Hanrahan's inflexibility, his rigid moralisms, to a strict Catholic upbringing and parochial school education, the same background from which Mayor Daley emerged. Daley still attends daily masses and Hanrahan is a strict churchman.

His friend, Judge Murray, remembers when Chicago's racial tensions were at a high point and the Catholic Church instructed its parishioners to seek personal

rapprochement with blacks by inviting them to their homes for dinner and discussions.

Hanrahan, Murray said, unhesitatingly invited Negroes to his home, much to the displeasure of his Irish neighbors on the West Side.

Hanrahan displayed the same determination, in another sense, when he came to the state's attorney's office in 1968. This time, however, he was out to get the black street gangs which he claimed were marauding the South and West Side ghettos and creating more dangers to law-abiding citizens than the Mafia.

Series of Raids

With a special detachment of Chicago policemen, he embarked on a widely heralded series of raids and arrests of young blacks. Militants and some civil liber-

arians accused him of cracking small nuts for political gains, but his raids in 1969 seemed highly popular, even in black neighborhoods. It was not until the Panther raid in December, 1969, that Hanrahan appeared to have made a serious political mistake.

Even now, so far as the public record is concerned, Hanrahan has escaped direct blame for the raid by any of the four official investigations. Although the raiders were assigned to his office, nothing has been established to show he participated in planning of the raid. A federal grand jury, without making public a complete transcript, reported that Hanrahan was apparently informed of the forthcoming raid on the Panther apartment only in a

brief, passing reference by his top assistant, Richard J. Lovec.

The Federal grand jury did, however, conclude that Hanrahan's office interfered in the Police Department's investigation of the shooting scene and in the interrogation of his own policemen.

For example, the firearms examiner testified that "due to daily pressure from the State's Attorney's office" he was not allowed time to examine all of the raiding officers' guns to determine which shots were fired by which weapons. Three of Hanrahan's assistants also helped to prepare the Police Department questions used to interrogate the officers during an internal Department examination. That examination reported no reason to suspect the officers of wrongdoing.

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But once the raid was over and the criticism began, Hanrahan struck a rigid public pose he has never relaxed. In a typically tough statement, he said, "We wholeheartedly commend the police officers for their bravery, their remarkable restraint and their discipline in the face of this vicious Black Panther attack and we expect every decent citizen of our community to do likewise."

The Daley organization was ready to weather the storm of criticism, but the prestigious Chicago Bar Association forced both a special coroner's inquest and the current grand jury investigation. In addition, the bar association has under consideration complaints against Hanrahan for two incidents—his post-raid publicity (including an unprecedented television reenactment of the

shooting by his officers) and his public criticism of judges he deems to be too lenient in sentencing convicted criminals.

It has all been embarrassing for Daley and his organization. Some guess it has been so embarrassing that Thomas Foran, the former U.S. attorney who prosecuted the Chicago Seven case, will slated for governor next year instead of Hanrahan. When the reported indictment of Hanrahan became public knowledge last week, one observer said, "Tommy Foran has gained a lot of ground."

Others see it differently. They look back to April 6, election night, and remember a smiling Daley looking down at the man in the crowd and saying, "come on up here, Ed," and they speculate that the mayor does not engage in idle symbolic gestures.